

The Principia.

First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

VOL. II.—No. 44.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1861.

WHOLE NUMBER 96.

The Principia

Published Weekly, at 339 Pearl Street, (two doors above
Harpers' Buildings) New-York.

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SAMUEL WILDE, Proprietor.

TERMS: One Dollar a year, in advance.

Direct business letters, with remittances, to

MELANCTHON B. WILLIAMS, Publishing Agent,

at above.

PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals, Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promise; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE BIBLE ABOLITIONIST.

Containing the testimony of the Scriptures against Slavery, and the Scriptural method of treating it.

"To the law and to the testimony; if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isa. viii. 20. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

Part III.—Slaveholding brought directly to the test of the Bible.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PROPHECY OF AMOS.

[Continued.]

In the same connexion, the prophet reproves their worship of Moloch and Chaiu, and predicts their conquest and captivity. (Chap. V, 26.) The worship of Moloch, (the destroyer of humanity,) whether with or without the use of images, can never be successfully commingled with the worship of Jehovah. How many in our day, "desire the day of the Lord"—the conversion of the world, the reign of Christ, the Millennium of his church, to whom "the day of the Lord" would be darkness, and who, should it burst upon them, would be overwhelmed with terror and confusion! How is that day to come to a land of oppression, of human chattelhood, of enforced concubinage and heathenism, a land that annuls marriage and withholds Bibles, that proscribes the reproof of oppression, that punishes by fines and imprisonments, the succorers of the fugitive brethren of Christ? How, but by repentance and amendment, or by terrible judgments?

How ludicrous, and yet how lamentable—how humiliating and how horrible! is the spectacle, when slaveholders and their apologists come together, in Bible and Tract and Missionary Anniversaries, to celebrate and to promote the evangelizing of the heathen, to pray for "the day of the Lord," to declaim, eloquently, upon the signs of its appearance, the flight of the angel in mid-heaven, "having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue and people," (Rev. xiv, 6) and boasting that the Christians of America, of all others, are becoming the honored instruments of his flight! Should any one rise to propose a supply of Bibles and teachers for our four millions of slaves, and their restoration to the sanctities of marriage and the family relation, alas! how would the delightful dream be interrupted; the "peace of our Zion disturbed"—the music of the anthem, and the loud sounding organ jarred! If ever the Infinite Purity looks down upon worshipping assemblies with implacable indignation and disgust, saying "Take away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols,"—must it not be when he looks on such assemblies of American oppressors and their associates?

Are our comments on this passage of Scripture too severe? Listen then, to the comments of learned and honored expositors, who, without a direct specification of modern slavery in America, or elsewhere, have applied this portion of divine instruction to oppression in general, to oppressions of a far lighter character, such oppressions as existed in Israel.

"Let justice have its free course, so that the meanest persons might have the benefit of it."—Lowth.

The American slave has no benefit whatever, from courts of justice, not being able to litigate in them.

"The Israelites were encouraged in presumption, by the observance of religious solemnities. Perhaps, in the temples of the ten tribes, they copied the manner of keeping the solemn feasts, and of presenting the sacrifices, and even the music and Psalmody in use at the temple of Jerusalem. But the whole was so coupled with idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and iniquity, that God utterly abhorred and rejected it. Some, however, think that Judah was also included in this rebuke, and on very probable grounds. Instead of relying on these external and hypocritical services, they would do better to reform their courts of justice, that justice and equity might thence be diffused, like streams of water throughout the land. Thus, a hopeful beginning, might be made in the reformation of morals and religion, without which no sacrifices could please God."—Scott's Commentary.

The principle is here laid down, by these Commentators, as being derived from this portion of scripture, that in a nation where oppression exists, unsuppressed, and where the people give their tacit consent to this condition of things, their religious services are thereby rendered unacceptable to God, nay, more, that they become the means of encouraging the worshippers in their presumption, and false hopes of the divine favor, while they cherish their sins. The beginning of a "reformation of morals and religion" with such a people, must be to "reform their courts of justice," so that the needy may have the benefit of them. If this principle does not apply to the people of this country, to whom does it apply? Or how could it be applied to the people of Israel and Judah, in the time of the prophet Amos, who never heard of such oppressions as those of this land, nor of so infamous a judicial decision as that of our Supreme Court—that the oppressed race "have no rights which others are bound to respect?"

The reader will have noticed that the prophets whose messages they have been considering, insist, uniformly, upon a judicial, a political reformation, as the indispensable condition of acceptable worship, where such reformation is demanded by the existence of oppression. They will notice, likewise, that the Commentators we have quoted, agree with us in this feature of our expositions. The notion that religion must not control politics, nor be applied to political wickedness, is among the most modern of all innovations upon the faith of our fathers.

The prophet proceeds, in the next chapter, to include both Zion and Samaria, Judah and Israel, under one and the same category of condemnation. The nominal orthodoxy of the former, where Jehovah alone was publicly worshipped, and where, in his temple, his worshippers assembled, could not serve to draw any broad line of demarcation between them and the idolatrous and heretical Samaritans who mingled the worship of the gods of Assyria with that of Jehovah,* so long as they both agreed in tolerating oppression, and neglecting its political and judicial extirpation.

"Wo to them that are at ease in Zion, that trust in the mountain of Samaria, that are named chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel came." "Ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near, that lie on beds of ivory, and stretch themselves on couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and calves out of the stall, that chaunt at the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music, like

David, that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments, but they are not grieved with the afflictions of Joseph. Therefore shall they go captive, and the banquet of them that stretch themselves shall be removed. The Lord God hath sworn by himself, saith the Lord God of hosts, I abhor the excellency of Jacob, and hate his palaces, therefore will I deliver up the city, with all that is therein. (Chap. vi, 1-8.) For ye have turned judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into hemlock." (v. 12.)

"The administration of public justice, and even their religious services, had proved as nauseous as gall, and as poisonous as hemlock, instead of being a source or an example of equity and piety."—Scott's Commentary.

The voluptuousness, the ease, the luxury, the extravagance, the pleasurable indulgences, the confidence of security, the music, the feasting, the wine—all these indicate a state of affluence, of elevation above vulgar cares and homely labors, the condition of those regarded as the "first class" of society, both among the orthodox and the heretical, the temple worshippers at Jerusalem, and the idolators at Samaria, or both of them intermingled. Their characters were essentially the same—lovers of themselves, "lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God," or of his oppressed poor. No money had they to expend in judicial defences of the crushed poor, nor in feeding such prophets as the "herdsman of Tekoa,"† the reprover of oppressors. Their wine, their oil, their ivory furniture, their musical instruments and princely fare, their temples, their altars, their sacrifices, their gorgeous worship, absorbed even their princely revenues, and they had nothing to spare for the cause of the oppressed. Indeed they had no heart for it. "The seat of violence," of perverted government, of iniquitous jurisprudence, was in their very midst, and with their cordial assent and support. They were, themselves, responsible for judicial oppression. Their enjoyments were not disturbed by any anxieties for the oppressed. They were "not grieved for the affliction of Joseph," for those who, like Joseph, were oppressed and in bondage. Therefore they should go into bondage themselves!

Such was the message, to Israel and Judah. Why was it preserved on the sacred record, but that it might be used in ages to come? When and where should it be applied, if not now, to the citizens and the worshippers in this land? Wherein is the picture inapplicable or inappropriate? In what particular, except that the oppressed of this land, more literally than those in Israel and Judah, may be represented by Joseph, who was "indeed stolen away out of the land" of their fathers.

* See II Kings. xvii, 24-35.

† See Chap. I, 1.

THE COMING REVOLUTION—THE WAR—SLAVERY AND ABOLITION.

PROGRESS OF SENTIMENT.

NUMBER THREE.

We have, in previous numbers, presented our readers with numerous and brief extracts from our exchange papers, favoring a national abolition of slavery.—We have as many more, marked and laid up for the same use, if we shall find room for them. We occupy as much space as we can afford, this week, to some longer articles, entering into the argument; not mere expressions of sentiment.

49. SEPARATION OR EMANCIPATION.

By HON. AMASA WALKER, [Formerly Secretary of State for Massachusetts.]

The bombardment of Fort Sumter inaugurated the Southern Rebellion as a fact; the battle at Bull Run showed the contending parties its character and dimensions.

The influence of the first of these events was to arouse and unite the free states in support of the Government; the result of the later (already beginning to be felt) will be to determine the great principle on which the war shall be conducted, and the exact issue to be made.

In the late battle the South triumphed, but gained no victory: the North was repulsed, but sustained no defeat—yet both parties have learned a most important lesson, and will respect each other's prowess vastly more than they did before. Both now, for the first time, realize something of the mighty struggle in all its awful dimensions, and they see its height and breadth and length. There will be hereafter no trifling with this conflict, as a light and easy matter "to be quickly disposed of." All now see that the entire energies of the contending parties will be inevitably brought into requisition. The North has found out that the South can fight, and the South has learned that in the open field "one Southerner cannot whip five Yankees."

Both parties have doubtless been strengthened by the collision near Manassas: the South by her success in turning back the "invaders," the North, by the new and enthusiastic determination which has been awakened to bring forth all the power of the nation to crush the rebellion.

But this is not all, nor the most important. While the South has received new encouragement to struggle for the great principle for which it is contending, viz. the right to hold colored men in perpetual and unrestrained bondage, and extend the system of slavery whenever and wherever they please, the North will be compelled by military necessity to plant itself on exactly the opposite principle. We cannot do otherwise if we would. If the South stands squarely and boldly on one side, the North must take its stand as unequivocally on the other. We have no alternative.

In all the political contests of the past, the South has always had one great advantage over her opponent. The former has ever been frank and resolute in announcing and defending her principles, however odious and revolting they might be, while the North has almost always been in an equivocal position. She could not assent to the wicked schemes of the South, yet she has seldom had the courage to combat them manfully and boldly; some compromise of a great principle, some dodging of the real question at issue, has been too characteristic of the people of the free States. The legitimate consequence has been that the South has had greatly the advantage, and finally triumphed. That which has been so undeniably and unfortunately true in our political controversies is now but too true when we appeal to the solemn and awful arbitrament of the sword.

The South announces to the world, in the plainest language, that she secedes from the Union that she may establish a government founded upon SLAVERY; and this is her great object. Is the North as clearly and unmistakably contending for FREEDOM? Does she declare to the world that her flag shall not float over a slave? Far from it. On the other hand, has she not been scrupulously careful to announce, through her civil and military functionaries, that she recognizes the right of men to hold slaves, and will return them to loyal citizens if they run away?

If so, then, so far as any great principle is concerned, is not the essential and generic difference between the two parties simply this, that the South is fighting to sustain and perpetuate slavery out of the Union, and the North to do the same thing within it?

The reflections of the people of the free States, awakened by the late disaster, and the now but too evident magnitude of the struggle, lead them to inquire whether there is really sufficient difference between the objects avowed by the two parties to justify all the bloodshed and waste of treasure which such a war as stares them in the face must inevitably require. And well may they do this. It is not sufficient to tell them that the free States are contending for the Union and the Constitution. That is a question of policy, and makes the war what Garibaldi declares it to be, "a political war," to be terminated at the best by the *status quo ante bellum*, by the restoration of all things to the same condition as they were before the conflict.

Now if this is all we seek, is the game worth the candle? Nothing can be more certain than that we should be left in the same predicament we have always been hitherto, with the same irrepressible conflict to break out again in open war. We should have no security for permanent peace and prosperity whatever.

But whether it would pay to do this or not, is not the question. The fact is that the restoration of the Union is an impossibility. It is already destroyed, and the Constitution is besmeared with fratricidal blood; and a Union founded on "the mutual consent of the governed" can never again exist. If sufficiently powerful and persistent, we may in the end subjugate the South, doubtless, but will that restore the American Union? Will permanent peace and concord be the result? After such a bloody contest as is evidently before us, will the North be ready to bind herself anew to restore fugitives, and be, as heretofore, a partner in the guilt of slavery? Under the Constitution we could do nothing less than that, and even that the South will reject with scorn until completely conquered.

The truth of the matter is, that the only alternatives left us are either a complete separation of the free and slave States, or the destruction of slavery itself. It is the most idle matter in the world to talk of any other course. We must choose one of the two, and the sooner we begin to contemplate this fact, and consider all its bearings and consequences, the better. Politicians are not ready to take the responsibility of discussing this question, but the people must; and unless we greatly mistake the signs of the times, they are beginning to do it, pretty generally, since the bat-

tle at Bull Run. Public sentiment is changing almost as rapidly since that great disaster as it did after the fall of Fort Sumter. There is less noise made on the subject, but the current is strong and deep, and is setting powerfully, if we mistake not, toward one of these alternatives.

Never was a more momentous question submitted to a people. Emancipation or separation? How tremendous the consequences of either? How vast the interests involved! If emancipation, what a mighty change in the relations of master and slaves, and what a revolution in the social condition of the slave States! If separation, what a complete change will be made in American politics! Two separate independent nationalities, in juxtaposition, with totally antagonistic institutions! Despotism and freedom both permanently organized on the Western continent, to be, as matter of certainty in unceasing conflict!

But the time has now come when, however unwilling, we must look both these alternatives in the face. We are losing time, and are demoralizing the free States, by our delay in making up fully and clearly our issue, either for separation or emancipation.

With the decision of this question, the Government, as such, has nothing to do. Its appropriate duties are to sustain existing institutions and laws, in accordance with constitutional provisions and legal precedents. This our Government has hitherto done, we think, to the very general acceptance of the people of the loyal States; but it is clear that if any great organic changes are to be made in the institutions of the country, the people must indicate what those changes should be, and express their sentiments so fully and unanimously that the Government shall be authorized and empowered to make them.

No greater change in the condition of a great people was contemplated than that which the present exigency forces upon us. The sooner we examine our position, and decide upon our future course, the better.—*Independent*, Aug. 8.

50. EMANCIPATION OR SUBJUGATION.

BY REV. SAMUEL WOLCOTT.

"SEPARATION OR Emancipation" is not the last analysis. The sound reasoning lately offered in these columns under this head, in support of the position "that the only alternatives left us are either a complete separation of the free and slave states, or the destruction of slavery itself," proves more than this. While it is true that "the restoration of the Union [on the old basis] is an impossibility," it is more emphatically true that the permanent separation of the free and the slave states is also an impossibility. The so-called separation, could it be agreed upon by the parties, would be only another compromise—a troubled transition to a more normal and stable condition.

Our national domain forbids it—our mountains and our rivers were not fashioned for such an arrangement. Our national history forbids it—the states have a common inheritance in the past and a common stake and promise in the future, which none of them can permanently relinquish. Our foreign relations forbid it—we are the jealous guardians of a continent and its independence, and the pressure of a foreign foe on either section of our dismembered territory would speedily demonstrate the fact that we are one and not two. Our domestic connections forbid it—our union is cemented by the tenderest social ties, and with our trade left to its regular channels, commercial necessities and reciprocities strengthen the compact of kindred blood. Our religious communion, stronger than all other bonds, forbids it—the doctrines of a common Christianity and the charities of a common humanity pervade the breasts of thousands in every part of our Republic.

These powerful and indestructible ties have been sadly obscured, and some of them strangely perverted, but as soon as the baleful source of their disturbance is recognized and removed, they will assert their natural sway, and hold us indissolubly united as a people. Our nationality may be eclipsed, it cannot be extinguished—not unless we are destined, with youthful blood in our veins, to make our bed with defunct and buried nations, and be accosted with the withering taunt—"Art thou also become weak as we? Art thou become like unto us? Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols!"

The suggested separation is welcomed by some in the free states as releasing them from all responsible connection with an accursed system. Sensitiveness to the stain of complicity with oppression is a most proper feeling, and its wider diffusion in Christian hearts would have arrested a great moral apostasy, and saved us from most of the evils on which we have fallen. But this does not measure our responsibilities and obligations in this direction. We owe it to the victims of a wrong which our own policy has upheld and extended, and for which we are partly responsible, to improve our providential opportunity of reaching and redressing them through our political relation to them. We owe it to ourselves and to our loyal associates, to remain and cheerfully bear our share of the burdens, if any, which this deliverance may entail. We owe to God and to our posterity, not to succumb to rebellion, and suffer civil government, which is his ordinance, to be struck down without cause. If benevolence and honor did not prescribe this course to us, if the enduring interests of the Republic and the hopes humanity which are garnered therein did not require it of us, if we were at liberty to accept personal relief in the separation which is not proffered but dictated, it would be a futile proceeding. Separation must now

come, if at all, as the sequel to a protracted and bloody conflict, which had aggravated every source of exasperation without removing one. It would necessitate a renewal of the tragedy as soon as either party had sufficiently recruited its strength. The posture in which it would leave the country, has been well stated in the able article which we have quoted. "Two separate independent nationalities, in juxtaposition, with totally antagonistic institutions! Despotism and freedom both permanently organized on the Western continent, to be as matter of certainty in unceasing conflict." Not "permanently"—that were impossible. The one or the other would inevitably be overthrown, and their "antagonistic institutions" assimilated. Separation, at the best, is a transient expedient. It is a drawn battle, or a hollow truce. Let it not be presented as a permanent element in the settlement of the question before us. Let it not be named as a possible solution of the problem which presses so heavily upon us.

Emancipation from slavery, or subjugation to the slave power, are the alternatives offered to this nation. The South, with the North, must be delivered from the evil; or the North, with the South, must pass under its yoke. The repose of liberty, or the repose of despotism is our only choice; between the two principles there can be no further alliance among us, and whether the now free and slave states remain together or separate, there can be no rest to the land until the one principle or the other has conquered. It is not a war of sections. The North does not hate the South; those who hate her slavery the most intensely, desire as earnestly the highest prosperity of all classes of her people. Apart from the jealousies and fears which her peculiar institution engenders, the South could not hate the North. The controversy is not sectional, and it will not end in a sectional triumph. Emancipation involves the political equality of all sections, and the subjection of all alike to righteous law, to constitutional government, and to the principles of freedom and justice. Subjugation involves the acquiescence of all alike in the nationality and supremacy of the slaveholding interest—allowing its claims and pretensions as freely in New York, Newport, and Boston, as in Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans. Let not this be thought an incredible supposition; we have barely escaped this danger in the recent past, and we can have no security for the future, while the system is tolerated and protected by our Government. Its continued protection is now openly offered as a premium to loyalty; and should the atrocious rebellion which it has instigated be completely crushed, and the guilty cause of all this woe be still sheltered by constitutional safeguards, it may prove more potent than ever to work the downfall of the freedom which has survived its encroachments hitherto. Other historical analogies might be cited in confirmation of this view, but none can be more apposite and instructive than the inspired record of ancient Israel—corrupted and cursed, and at length exterminated from their land, "the glory of all lands," through the little leaven of the old idolatry which a false and forbidden confidence had spared in the day of conquest. DESTROY IT, IF YOU WOULD NOT BE DESTROYED BY IT—is the voice which calls to us from the ages, in this crisis of our destiny.

Emancipation or subjugation! It is a significant circumstance that the key-note of this strain was struck by our present Chief Magistrate, in the commencement of the great discussion which finally bore him to his present elevation. In the opening paragraph of his first speech, in the Senatorial contest which he waged so gallantly with his formidable, and at the time successful, rival, after quoting the Scriptural proverb that "a house divided against itself cannot stand," he thus announced his own faith:

"I believe that this Government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or else the other."

This sentence, in its reverberations through the campaign, startled some of his supporters, if it did not himself; but it was the spontaneous utterance of an honest and prophetic instinct, and history will vindicate its truth. Mr. Lincoln was then a private citizen, and could wield only his personal influence against the gigantic crime and curse of our Republic. He is now clothed with extraordinary official trusts, and as Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the United States, it is conceded by eminent publicists that he has the political right to abolish slavery in the rebel states, in the military orders of the day read at the head of his troops. Let him place his trust in the God of our fathers, the author of our liberties and boldly lead this "uprising of a great people," and sooner far than he anticipated, shall his prediction reach its glorious fulfillment in the proclamation that this Government is no longer half slave, but ALL FREE.—*Independent*, Aug. 22.

51. COST OF CHERISHING PRO-SLAVERY FEELING.

The *Mercer Co. (Pa.) Dispatch*, Aug. 3, copies the articles from the *N. Y. Times* and from the *Buffalo Express* (as above) and adds:

Too much deference has been paid, in the conduct of the present war, to the pro-slavery feeling of the North as well as the South; and those in authority have acted under

the idea that it must be carried on in the most genteel manner, by "free white male citizens," and that no colored man, free or slave, had any part or lot in it, notwithstanding the rebels are employing both of these classes to aid them in their purpose of overturning the Government. Gov. Curtin, under this idea, we presume, made haste to declare that no colored troops would be permitted to march through Pennsylvania; and our Generals, some of them at least, preceded their march south of Mason and Dixon's line, with proclamations, assuring the slaveholders that they would be protected in their slave property, and that, in fact, our troops would be used as slave catchers. The reverse at Manassas Junction, and others that may follow, will serve to show the friends of the National Government, the nature and extent of the work before them; and learn them, probably, the important lesson, that whatever means may be legitimately resorted to, to drive back a foreign foe, may with equal propriety be resorted to for the purpose of quelling an insurrection at home.

52. THE CAUSE MUST BE ANNIHILATED.

The Massachusetts Spy, Aug. 7th says:

We have undertaken this war to put down treason, to save the Union and the Constitution, and to maintain free institutions. The slave power is in arms to destroy the Republic, and it is not likely that the movements of government and our armies will be regulated throughout this war, by an elaborate tenderness towards the institution of slavery. The more earnest we become, the more deeply and universally shall we feel that whatever hinders our armies or helps the side of treason, must be annihilated. Slavery has caused our present trouble, and in one way or another the accursed institution will lose influence and get its deserts.

53. POPULAR IDEAS OF THE REBELLION.

The War and Slavery.

WESTPORT, Conn., Thursday, Aug. 8. 1861.

To the Editor of the New-York Times:

You say truly that this war in which we are engaged has for its object simply to put down the rebellion against our nationality. This is the object and the whole of it.

But how are we to accomplish this object? Many say, "Gather an immense Army, pay hundreds of millions of money, and go on from battle-field to battle-field, till the treason is stamped out; meanwhile, scrupulously respecting the institution of Slavery. In case it shall be found impossible to succeed in this way, then, as a last resort, decree emancipation." The plan is to do all we can toward crushing out the rebellion without harming the peculiar institution; and if, after an immense outlay of money and life, we find that either the Republic or Slavery must die, then slavery must take the death. It is assumed, and with reason, that a decree of emancipation by the war power would make short work with the rebellion. It is capable of demonstration that, with ten thousand men properly applied, a single month would suffice to revolutionize the larger part of the South into submission—and with that a less amount of suffering and outrage than ordinarily follows in the track of war.

Now, gentlemen, I have never been an ultraist; but I cannot help asking, why not adopt this conclusive measure at the outset? What is this Slavery? What has it done that it should be treated so tenderly, and be marked as the last thing to be thrown overboard in the endeavor to save the laboring ship? Here we are, proposing to sacrifice great commercial and manufacturing interests, hundreds of millions of ready money in the shape of taxes, and tens of thousands of precious lives in an experiment to get along without harming the institution of Slavery by this war. What have these rebels and traitors done that we should be so much more chary of their property than of our own—so much more tender of their investment in human flesh and blood than of the lives of our own sons and brothers? What is there so very precious about this very peculiar institution of our deadly enemies that we should shield it from harm with our own fortunes and bodies up to the last possible minute; that we should dare and sacrifice to the last extremity before consenting to have it perish? One would think Slavery to be the Kohinor of the country, instead of the nation's shame, the by-word of Christendom, the incorrigible fire-brand and disintegrator of our nationality, the mother of treason and rebellion. Was not this rebellion got up in the interests of Slavery? Are not these men who are stabbing at the public heart, slaveholders, and is it not because they are slaveholders that they are so stabbing? Is not Slavery at this moment the right arm with which treason is working against us? Who plant the masked batteries, who make the intrenchments, who drag and manipulate the munitions of war, who furnish the food to support the armies of our enemies, who raise the cotton from which, if at all our foes must get the sinews of war—who but slaves? *The system of American Slavery does not deserve the forbearance and sacrifices we are practising in its favor.* On my conscience, I believe we are acting like fools in this whole matter.

To you, merchants and tax-payers—to you, citizens, whose brothers and sons are taking daily risks at the cannon's mouth, it is not merely a question how this rebellion may be suppressed, but how it may be suppressed in the most speedy, economical, and effectual manner. If you fail to say "Yes" to this with all your hearts—then let me tell you that after all your sacrifices you will still have the great thing to do.

All your costly make-shifts to spare your enemies and the assassins of your country will come to nothing. Slavery or the Republic must die. Let the people understand it—*Slavery or the Republic must die.* The sooner the lesson is learned the better. God Almighty will crowd us with reverses on reverses and almost kill us with mortification and blood-shedding, till we are ready to part with the monster that defies a like God and man.

Yours truly,

E. F. B.

54. SLAVERY AND THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

NEW YORK, Wednesday, Aug. 7, 1861.

To the Editor of the New York Times.

The politicians' scheme is evidently to "save the Union," and, at the same time, save the sacred "peculiar institution" within the States where it exists. Wendell Phillips and the Abolitionists call on the Government to save the nation by proclaiming liberty to all in bondage, and thus at once and forever dispose of the cause of the woful conflict. The people are not yet quite prepared to demand the latter, though it needs only the Government to pronounce the word, and they will enthusiastically support it with joyful hearts, willing hands, and by every other generous means.

55. NORTHERN OPINIONS AND SOUTHERN BATTERIES.

From the Fon-du-lac Commonwealth.

We hear men, every day, who we know have thought for several years that we have been "crazy with nigger on the brain," calling in language more vigorous than unprofane, for the freeing and arming of the slaves, to put down their rebellious masters. There are lots of men who, when this contest commenced, were tender in their expressions, in regard to treating the rebels, who, if they wanted their veins pricked at all, wanted the army surgeons to do it politely, with a delicate lancet, that now wouldn't object to have the traitors despatched with all possible speed, by a big nigger, with a bushhook, if that was the only, or the surest, weapon at hand. Every rebel shot fired, does excellent execution on the squeamishness of the North. It is as necessary, in our opinion, to wipe out some of the opinions of Northerners as it is to capture Southern batteries. Southern powder is the best of any of which we have knowledge. Its explosion lights up the North, and it don't kill a great many in the South.

56. SLAVERY IN THE CONTEST.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: It seems to me that in the present conflict it is not to be forgotten for a moment

That Slavery is at the bottom of all the difficulty;

That Slavery is a wrong and accursed thing;

That to return a fugitive is unscriptural and inhuman;

That if we do not take every advantage of a "state of war,"

we are simple, and shall be punished;

That the slave question will return upon us cannot be kept down or out of sight.

In keeping with such sentiments, let no slaves be returned to a seceded State or county.

Let there be no promise to put down insurrection in such State or section.

If we are obliged to march an army through a belligerent section, let it liberate the slaves as fast as it finds them.

Further—we must not lose the sympathy of the black man. We must not leave our work partly done, especially if the continued perversity of the South will give us the least pretext for finishing it. Let the error of our fathers warn us. Lawyers can tell us how to amend the Constitution to suit new conditions.*

Equal rights for all men.

A peace, perfect and perpetual.

The South needs her colored population; the blacks would prefer to remain there. Nothing but oppression drives them North. It is the birth-land of most of them; they like the climate, and understand the work there to be done; would be willing, if free, as common sense and history both assure us, to labor for the planters, and would be worth unspeakably more as "hired servants" than as slaves.

Charlton, May 31, 1861.

Truly yours

L. HOLMES.

* The Constitution needs only to be construed by her legal rules of interpretation, and then enforced—in order to abolish slavery.—*Editor of Principia.*

57. CONGREGATIONAL CONVENTION, ON THE WAR.

The recent Congregational Convention of Vermont, passed the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, Our General Government is assailed by a fearful rebellion, by which its integrity and its existence are imperiled; therefore resolved

1. That as the representatives of the Congregational churches of Vermont we pledge to our Government and to its armies our prayers, our sympathies, and our earnest co-operation, in all suitable ways, to suppress the rebellion, and vindicate the authority and dignity of the Constitution and laws over our whole domain.

2. That whereas slavery, the great sin and calamity of our nation, manifestly underlies all the avowed reasons for this rebellion, and is the bitter root of all our serious internal difficulties, we shall rejoice, if, in the suppression of the rebellion,

God shall cause the institution of slavery to fall with it, or shall so break its power that its speedy extinction shall be made sure.

58. "WE ARE GETTING TO BE ABOLITIONISTS."

A correspondent of the *N. Y. Tribune*, writing from Philadelphia May 21. said

The honest truth is, we are getting to be Abolitionists, and want to see this national leprosy wiped out. It has ruined all of us, now let us prevent that ruin from being repeated. This is all mock tenderness about the sanctity of slave property. What description of ours do these rebels respect? Have they not stolen all they could? It is our duty to assail them in every way—capture ships and cargoes, confiscate property, quarter troops upon them, batter down their cities if need be, and if their slaves choose to walk off, the American army will disgrace humanity if it refuses to protect them. Emancipate ourselves from the reign of barbarism, but compel them to remain under it! I can assure you that if this is to be the mission of fifty-five Pennsylvania regiments, they have been grossly deceived by somebody.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

59. A COLONEL IN THE ARMY.

A correspondent of the *American Baptist*, A. L. P. (presumed to be Elder A. L. Post of Montrose, Pa.), writing from Washington City, Aug. 3. says:

Having come down from the Capitol, I met a Colonel of one of the regiments, and incidentally the matter of Gen. Butler's trouble about the slaves whose masters have run away from them, came up in conversation. Without a leader on my part, he remarked, most emphatically: "Nonsense! Let him put arms in their hands, and set them to fighting the battles of the country. Let the President make a proclamation to that effect, everywhere, and the war would end in two weeks. The fact itself would bring the rebels to terms." I must confess to a very great surprise, that the remedy for the war, the best policy to save life and money, and establish the government and Union upon the true grounds of strength, perpetuity and glory, had been so fully comprehended by him. This is a good indication. Heaven grant, for the country's sake and humanity's sake, for the sake of all that is good and great, that not only Colonels, but Generals-in-Chief, and they who are at the head of all, the President and his Cabinet, may comprehend the policy as well as the Colonel referred to. This would be, in my judgment, the truest humanity the case allows, and not the inhumanity which rules the counsels of the nation under the garb of humanity.

60. REPUBLICAN CENTRAL CLUB.

At the stated meeting of this Club, held last evening at Cooper Institute, Mr. Sinclair Tousey presided, and Mr. Oliver opened with some remarks on the following subject, which was laid over; the previous evening:

"Resolved, That the surest and quickest way of ending the rebellion, and establishing a permanent peace, is to declare immediate and unconditional emancipation."

Mr. Oliver proposed adding, "Wherever rebellion exists." His argument was, that the Union, with slavery in it, was not worth preserving. But the only way of really preserving the Union, was by emancipation. For even if the South was subjugated, Jeff. Davis and his crew would but return to Congress, and raise again the old question of slavery. Congress had now the power to abolish slavery, as the South had departed from the protection of the law. The speaker's sentiments were, that the negro had as much right to own the master, as the master his negro. As a point of fact, he stoutly denied, on the authority of his own observation, the accepted notion that white men could not live at the South, and work where negroes do.

Dr. Kennady, of Syracuse, announced that he had found it necessary to change his platform, and he believed that the Republican party, if it intended to exist any longer, must have abolition on its platform. He had come to the conclusion that slaves must be liberated wherever they can be found. The war could not be terminated honestly on the present platform, nor would God permit it to be so terminated. All the European and civilized nations were against the United States with slavery in it. The speaker read extracts from Lord Shaftesbury's late speech, to the effect that England could never sympathize with either of the leading parties so long as both clung firmly to slavery.

Dr. Gould offered a substitute more radical still, being a recommendation that President Lincoln should proclaim emancipation by martial law. This was opposed. One member denounced the Club for "eternally" passing resolutions which must eventually split the party.

The meeting was then adjourned. At subsequent meetings the Resolution has been discussed, and the vote upon it still deferred. It is understood that at each season of discussion the sentiment gains ground.

Fremont's Proclamation among the people is almost universally popular, so far as we can learn, and is most enthusiastically received where it is understood to be, according to *The Tribune's* first telegram, a proclamation of liberty to all the slaves of Missouri. None except sympathisers with secession, have found fault with it.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1861.

LETTERS on business for the *Principia* should be addressed to M. B. WILLIAMS, the Publisher.

LETTERS for the Editor, whether for his consideration, or for the public, should be addressed to WILLIAM GOODSELL.

ORDERS for books or pamphlets may be addressed to either of the above.

But in all cases, the business matter should be on a slip of paper separate from suggestions or communications for the Editor—because business papers must be kept on the Publisher's file, by themselves. For the same reason, what is designed for the Publisher should be on one slip of paper, and matter designed for the Editor's attention or use should be on another, though all may be put into one envelope, and directed to either.

All letters for us should be carefully directed to 339 Pearl street, not to 48 Beekman street, nor to Box 1212, (the former address of Wm. Goodell, where some of his letters continue to be sent.) This is the more important now, as the office of our friends, is now removed; and letters directed there will be liable to be lost.

SLAVERY—THE UNION—THE WAR.

The advance of the Union armies into the heart of Virginia forces upon their commanders and the Government the problem of Slavery—its relations to the Union, and their influence on the War. We propose to discuss them pointedly.

The doctrine we have always held sound and vital is that of the incompetency of the Federal Government to intermeddle with the domestic or personal relations established by the laws of the several States between the inhabitants of those States respectively. Clay-eating, for example, is a filthy, revolting, destructive practice; yet the Federal Government has no power to prohibit it within the limits of any State—a Federal law against it would be operative only in the Territories. When, therefore, a Briton or Frenchman, asks a citizen of a Free State—"Why don't you abolish slavery in the Southern States, and thus rid yourselves of a great trouble, shame, and danger?"—the proper answer is—"Why don't your Government abolish slavery in Turkey and in Persia?" We cannot go beyond our rightful power.—*Tribune*

The Tribune is forgetful. When Hon. A. P. Granger of Syracuse, N. Y., delivered his short but pithy speech in the U. S. House of Representatives, praying that the Federal Government has the Constitutional power to abolish slavery in the Slave States, *The Tribune*, in an article over the initials of its principal Editor, "H. G." confessed the soundness of the argument, and added that, whenever the Judges of the Federal Courts could "afford to be honest," they would find plenary power in the Constitution for that purpose. This was altogether aside from the "war-power," as set forth by John Quincy Adams, and disputed by nobody who can "afford" to exercise and confess the possession of common sense.

Whenever *The Tribune* can "afford" to advocate the doctrine again, (as it can when pecuniary and political considerations, its subscription list and its political party require it) the country will not fail to see it done with ample ability and a hearty good will.

But how can *The Tribune* or any other supporter of the National Government and the Nationality of the United States of America, "afford" to repeat, at this late day, the absurd babble that our Government is no more able "to abolish slavery in the Southern States than Great Britain is to abolish slavery in Turkey or Persia?" If this argument is good for anything, it is as good for the Southern right of secession as it is for the purpose of excusing the Federal Government for its neglect to abolish slavery. If there be any analogy between the cases, if the authority of the Federal Government over the "Southern States" be no more than Great Britain or France has "over Turkey or Persia," then it is because the theory of a Confederacy as held by Calhoun, Davis, and the Secessionists, generally, is correct, despite all the arguments of President Lincoln's Message, and the speech of Edward Everett, and the administration stands convicted, before the world, of high handed "usurpation" (as the white feather gentry allege,) in attempting to maintain authority over the "Southern States" any more than over "Turkey and Persia." No appeal to the Constitution, or to any clause of it, can avail to stave off this conclusion. It nowhere contains the slightest hint that the subject of slavery forms any exception to the general powers of the Federal Government over

the nation—that the States made any reservation of sovereignty over that subject, more than any other. No exposition of any clause of the Constitution will bear the slightest construction in that direction unless that construction reposes, for its basis, on the theory of "Confederacy," and of "State Sovereignty," so triumphantly exploded by Mr. Everett and Mr. Lincoln. On the contrary, the Constitution expressly prohibits to the States, the exercise of the powers inevitably essential to, and involved in, any legislation supporting slavery, to wit, the power to pass bills of attainder, disfranchising persons on account of descent, to pass ex-post facto laws, dehumanizing human beings in virtue of legislation before they were born, to take away the power of making contracts, as is done by the Code of Slavery—above all, requiring the United States to guarantee to every State in this Union, a Republican form of Government, which, according to the political literature of the times, the definitions of Jefferson and Madison, is utterly subversive of Slavery.

The question is almost too plain for argument. We confidently challenge confutation, and appeal to all the Statesmen, jurists, and civilians of the civilized world, when we affirm that if *The Tribune's* argument, or analogy, above quoted, is of logical force, or is pertinent to its purpose, then the "United States of America" have only a sham nationality that cannot, without usurpation, be enforced on the Confederate States. Yet this is the only plea against a National Abolition of Slavery, to-day.

It would not be strange if Divine Providence should take us, as a people, at our word; and since we shirk the plain and indispensable duties of nationality, by denying that nationality, take from us the power of maintaining the semblance of it.

"THE WORLD DOES MOVE."

The *World* of Aug. 27, was frightened at the discovery that the "Independent of this week is chock full of abolitionism." Here are its proofs.

"It allows Dr. Cheever to expatiate on 'the irretrievable mischief produced by the northern government and administration in refusing to direct the war against slavery,' and on the 'infinite importance of immediately striking that blow against slavery, and which will retrieve our affairs and our reputation, and save us from the dreadful disaster,' etc. It gives space to a long article by Charles L. Brace, entitled 'The key to Victory,' which opens with the inquiry, 'Why will not we people see that the only key to victory is a Proclamation of emancipation?'"

The *World* ought to know, what almost everybody knows, that the *Independent* has secured its wide circulation by "allowing Dr. Cheever" to do just such things in its columns, which satisfies its abolition readers, while the resident Editor balances the other scale, and satisfies its conservative readers by proposing to defer the "emancipation" fifty years, if the Slave States say so, also by denying the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding, and doing all it can to break down the Church of the Puritans and all foreign and domestic support of Dr. Cheever. Let the *World* be consoled and quieted. It should remember how it has itself been tempted into half way predictions of the possible necessity of directing the war against slavery; a temptation from which neither the *Times* nor even the *Herald* has, at all times, been exempt. One or two more Bull Run and Fremont proclamations, might prove an eye-opener to the whole "World," notwithstanding its present obfuscation. We quote further from its editorial:

"Instead of being shut up to choose between a proclamation of emancipation or defeat, such a proclamation would bring sure and irretrievable defeat from the day on which it was promulgated. Two-thirds of the army would refuse to march another step or serve another day in such a crusade. Men would no longer enlist, (except a few abolitionists); capitalists would no longer furnish means for prosecuting the war and we should immediately have a powerful revolutionary party at the North as well as at the South. It would plunge the country into general anarchy, and destroy the hopes of the Union forever."

The *World's* glorifications, since, of Fremont's Proclamation, furnishes a suitable comment upon these predictions. That "Proclamation of emancipation," the *World* said "might change the whole aspect of the war"—"more fruitful of consequences than any event that had transpired since the commencement of hostilities." The Administration, if it censured the measure, would "run the risk of en-

countering a popular storm, which might lead to an administrative crisis." Such "boldness of character" it found a "great clarifier of the intellect." It was "a fact not to be recalled, and we must take new observation for the future dating from this point."

Truly, "the *World* does move;" and though it seems only to whirl round and round "daily" we hazard the prediction that it will move forward. Should there come a full "Proclamation of emancipation within three months, we should expect to see the *World* recognize it, as a great clarifier of the intellect, and take new observations for the future."

AMERICAN BOARD AND SLAVERY.

"Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery. By CHARLES K. WHIPPLE. Published by R. F. Walcutt, No. 221 Washington Street, Boston, 1861. pp. 246.

We have received a copy of this elaborate pamphlet, and from some attention to its contents, and from our acquaintance with the thoroughness of Mr. Whipple, in such investigations, have no hesitancy in commending it to the attention of abolitionists, and to all who wish for full and accurate information on the subject of which it treats. Its documentary matter renders it exceedingly valuable for reference, and is amply sufficient to enable the reader to form an intelligent opinion of the justness of the writer's conclusions. With most of the documents and facts we had been previously acquainted, but the collection of them together, in this work, at the present time, is quite opportune, and will be of especial service to all who find occasion to speak, write, act, or in any way exert an influence, in respect to the Board; or to decide in respect to the duty of contributing to its support. If any intelligent, conscientious, and spiritually-minded christian, can read the facts here substantiated on unimpeachable evidence, and still retain confidence in the Board, we shall be utterly at a loss to account for the phenomenon.

Toward the close of the work, we are shown how the American Board has given its testimony to the character of the Cherokees as "a Christian people" adducing the alleged fact as the reason why the Board had no occasion to continue the support of missionaries among them, and on that account, (not from any disapprobation of their slaveholdings,) discontinued their mission among them.

We are next shown, on authority of the *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, (one of the journals supporting the pro-slavery rebellion, as well as the "Board"), that the "Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, and Chickasaws, have given their adherence to the Confederates, and probably the Cherokees are divided on the question," also, on authority of the *N. Y. Evangelist* (another supporter of the Board) that "the Cherokee, Choctaw, and other Indian tribes of the Southwest, nearly all of them slaveholders, are evidently under the influence of secessionists." pp. 234.

That such a result of "forty years of Missionary teaching," should be unsatisfactory to the fanatical and uncharitable abolitionists, and that they should see little evidence that such a people were a "Christian people," need excite no surprise—but there are some other revelations of this pamphlet for which many of the supporters of the Board will be unprepared.

The amount of the American Board's type of Christianity, among the Cherokees, to say nothing of its quality, is certainly far less than we had supposed. The Cherokee population is estimated at 21,000, very much scattered, of course. Among all these, it seems, there are only 4 churches connected with the Board, whose membership, severally, number 33, 24, 59 and 20, making but 136 Church members in all. The congregations or audiences in attendance, average 40, 60, 80 and 75, making but 255 in all. One of these meetings is held only monthly. "It is then, on the strength of four Sabbath audiences, amounting in all, church members (136) included, to 255, that the 21,000 Cherokees are declared 'a christian people,' so far as the operations of the 'Board' are concerned, pp. 224.

These statistics are from statements of the Prudential Committee of the Board, who, however, have added that licensed preachers of other ecclesiastical bodies are operating among the Cherokees, but they speak of those bodies as characterized by a "lamentable defection from some of the first and elementary ideas of Christian morality."

Considering the quality of the religion thus propagated, among the Cherokees, the small amount of it in existence may be the less to be deplored. Nor can it, perhaps, be considered a calamity, that the forty years teaching of the Missionaries of the Board, have been withdrawn, when their teachings and example, as exhibited in this pamphlet, are considered. But what shall be said of the statement that "the Cherokees are a christian people?" What can be more evident than that the work of evangelizing them is yet to be undertaken and accomplished; and all the more on account of the defective teaching they have received.

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF REV. GEO. B. CHEEVER, D. D., Pastor of the Church of the Puritans, New York, Hall, Clayton & Co., Printers, No. 40 Pine Street, 1861.—18mo. pp. 36

We took up this little pamphlet with some misgivings in respect to the feasibility of compressing into so small a compass sufficient matter, judiciously selected and arranged, to give the reader the information that he would naturally be seeking after. We were soon relieved of our apprehensions. It is, of course, only what it claims to be "a sketch," but it gives a clear idea of the volume into which it might have been expanded. This was enough for the present. The biography is not yet closed, and we pray that it may not be, for a long time to come.—Something of the kind was needed, just now, when slander and persecution against this faithful messenger of God are so rampant; something to tell the multitudes who this man is, about whom the Scribes and Pharisees and all they of Jerusalem have raised such an uproar. That something is now well supplied. It will do its good work. It should be scattered, broadcast, over the country. It will convey needed information, correct misapprehensions, dispel prejudices, and open the minds of many, to receive the truth. It gives a miniature picture of a true Christian Reformer, and will tend to the multiplication as well as to the encouragement of such. Apart, however, from the biographical portion, it contains rich gems of thought and sentiment from Dr. Cheever's writings, sufficient to render it worthy of circulation as a Tract, not of the tame insipid style in vogue, but one having point, authority and power, derived from God's word—creating, we trust, an appetite and a demand, for the volumes from whence they are taken. Price, 20 cents, bound in cloth, gilt edges. Address WILLIAM HERRIES, Tribune Office, New-York.

Our Country's greatest danger, and true deliverance.

This is a timely Tract, ["Occasional No 1,"] of the American Reform Tract and Book Society, Cincinnati, Ohio; 8 pages. It is ably written, and advocates a National Abolition of Slavery. We quote a single paragraph:

"Another lesson; does not the present position of the seceded States place this startling alternative before every friend of freedom and the Union throughout the country; *You must kill slavery, or slavery will kill you?* When the judgments of God are abroad in a land, is the warning of inspiration, it becomes the inhabitants thereof to learn righteousness. The "cry of the oppressed" has for many long years been going up to heaven from our country, and the vials of wrath are now being poured out upon us. Are we learning righteousness? Are we yet willing to put away the "accursed thing" from us? So sure as there is a God in heaven, we shall never know a true peace till we do"—page 7.

THE MAINE DEMOCRACY have lately held a State Convention at Augusta, when a split was made between the Breckenridge and Douglas delegates. The former 240 in number adopted *Secession* resolutions, whereupon the latter, numbering 180, retired and adopted *Union* resolutions, of a character indicated by the two following.

Resolved, That in vain will it be for our brave soldiers to put down the present rebellion, unless the people at home remove the causes that led to it, by putting their iron heel upon the twin sisters of our disasters—secessionism and abolitionism.

Resolved, That abiding by the old conservative principles of Democracy, and utterly abjuring the heresy of secession, and that of abolitionism on the other, we present to all true lovers of country a candidate and a platform which they can and ought to support.

So, if the Breckenridge Democrats carry the State, they will carry it into the "Confederacy." If the Douglas Democrats succeed they promise to put down both slavery and liberty, at the same time!—Bright fellows, to be sure.—

What has become of Major Jack Downing? Maine Democracy must be on its last legs.

THE CINCINNATI GAZETTE of Aug. 21, rebukes and satirizes the Albany Evening Journal and New-York World, for their absurd and mendacious slanders against the "Contraband" slaves as being spies, in the interest of the slaveholders!

News of the Day.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 7th.

Occupation of Paducah.—Yesterday forenoon Gen. Grant, commanding the National forces at Cairo, with two regiments of infantry, one company of light artillery and two gunboats, took possession of Paducah, which has for some time been notorious as the rendezvous of Secessionists. He was not a moment too soon in this movement, as he found secession flags flying in different parts of the city, in anticipation of the arrival of the rebel Army, which was reported to be only sixteen miles distant, 4,800 strong. When Gen. Grant entered the place, however, the loyal citizens tore down those flags. Our men then took possession of the telegraph office, the railroad depot, and the Marine Hospital, and found large quantities of rations and leather intended for the rebel Army.—*Times*.

The rebel officer killed.—It is stated on good authority, that the officer killed on Saturday last on Munson's Hill, by a rifle shot by Major Minturn, was George W. Hughes, of Maryland, a son of Gen. Hughes, of Baltimore.—*Id.*

Virginia.—On Friday a force of 1,000 Mississippians, as a guard, reached the vicinity of Fairfax Court House, with sixty pieces of artillery. The force opposite Washington, is estimated by the rebels at 125,000, with heavy reinforcements daily arriving. They say that an attack is to be made on Washington, the present week.

Simultaneously with the attack on Washington, demonstrations are to be made (according to the same authority) near the mouth of the Ocaquon, and above at Edward's, Nolan's, or the White House ferry.—*Id.*

MONDAY, SEPT. 9.

Washington.—The news from Washington this morning, indicates the active opening of speedy hostilities. Gen. McClellan on Saturday made a balloon ascension with Prof. Lowe, and spent two hours in making reconnoissances of the enemy's position. This was followed yesterday morning at daylight by a movement of our pickets, who were advanced one mile from their former positions, the rebel pickets retreating before them without any attempts at resistance. It has recently been discovered that the rebels, in addition to their fortifications on Munson's Hill, have recently erected a formidable battery, commanding the Leesburgh turnpike, about seven miles from the Chaina Bridge. There does not appear, however, to be any considerable body of troops in that vicinity. It appears, also, that on Wednesday last the rebels actually made an attempt to effect a crossing of the Potomac at Great Falls, about sixteen miles above Washington, but were repulsed with considerable loss. They planted a battery of rifled cannon upon an eminence, and fired about a hundred guns at a body of our troops on the Maryland side, attempting, meantime, to cross by constructing a temporary bridge with planks. The Sharpshooters of the Pennsylvania Seventh, however, met them with such a galling fire that they were forced to give up the enterprise, and retired with their battery. Only one man was slightly wounded among the Pennsylvanians.

An important order was yesterday issued by Gen. McClellan, providing for a better observance of the Sabbath in the National Army. He recommends that all work be suspended on that day, except in the case of an attack made by the enemy, or some other extreme military necessity; that unnecessary movements shall be made; that the men shall, as far as possible, be permitted to rest; and that they shall attend divine service after the customary morning inspection.—*Id.*

Russia.—A conclusive evidence of the sympathy felt for the Government of the United States by the Emperor of Russia, will be found in the letter which we publish this morning, written by Prince Gortschakoff to Baron Stoeckel, the Russian Minister at Washington, by command of the Emperor. His Majesty recognizes to the fullest extent the importance of maintaining the Union, and directs Mr. Stoeckel to use all his influence in behalf of the government. This important letter has been suitably acknowledged by Secretary Seward.—*Id.*

Kentucky invaded by the Rebels.—It appears that the die is cast in Kentucky and that, in spite of the earnest efforts of loyal Unionists to preserve the State from the horrors of the war that is now desolating Virginia and Missouri, the tramp of hostile armies is now felt on her soil. The telegraph is not a very clear narrator of facts, but from the dispatches of the past three days we gather the following: That on the night of the 4th inst. a considerable body of Confederate troops were thrown into Western Kentucky at Hickman, a town above New-Madrid on the Missouri side,

but some distance below Columbus on the Kentucky side. On the next day, Gen. Grant, commanding at Cairo, knowing of this movement of the rebels into Kentucky, and being assured of the march of about 3,800 of their forces towards Paducah, steamed up to the latter place with two regiments of infantry, one company of artillery and two gunboats, and took possession of that important town, in advance of the rebels.—*Id.*

Kanawha Valley.—The Cincinnati Press of Thursday announces that an engagement took place on Sunday last in the Kanawha Valley, some miles beyond Gauley's Bridge, which resulted in the complete rout of the rebels under Floyd, by the Eleventh Ohio, and the Seventh Kentucky regiments. According to the Press' informant, the two regiments had been ordered to dislodge a small body of rebels who had intrenched themselves some miles from Gauley Bridge, and while on their way to the place designated, they were attacked by Floyd with a body of 2,500 men. Although taken somewhat by surprise, the National troops soon formed in proper order, and commenced such a deadly fire that the rebels were soon thrown into confusion and fled precipitately, leaving a large number of dead and wounded. They were pursued as far as practicable, and at last threw aside their arms in great numbers and sought the mountain paths and trails through the forest. The National troops captured about two hundred and eighty prisoners, and a large quantity of baggage and equipments, while their own loss was but trifling.

Negro Citizenship.—The Rev. H. H. Garnet, (colored,) left this city a few days ago, for Europe, with a regular passport of citizenship, signed by W. H. Seward, Secretary of State. This fact must fill Judge Taney with horror.—*Sun*.

From the Czar of Russia.—Washington Sept. 8.—The Russian minister, Mr. De Stoeckl, had an audience of the President on Saturday, and read to him the following dispatch:

[TRANSLATION.]

ST. PETERSBURG, July 10.

Mr. De Stoeckl, &c., &c.

SIR: From the beginning of the conflict which divides the United States of America, you have been desirous to make known to the federal government the deep interest with which our august master was observing the development of a crisis which puts in question the prosperity and even the existence of the Union. The Emperor profoundly regrets to see that the hope of a peaceful solution is not realized, and that American citizens already in arms, are ready to let loose upon the country the most formidable of the scourges of political society: a civil war. For the more than eighty years it has existed, the American Union owes its independence, its towering rise and its progress, to the concord of its members, consecrated, under the auspices of its illustrious founder, by institutions which have been able to reconcile the Union with liberty. This Union has been faithful. It has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a prosperity without example in the annals of history. It would be deplorable that, after so conclusive an experience, the United States should be hurried into a breach of the solemn compact which up to this time, has made their power. In spite of the diversity of their constitutions and of their interests, and perhaps even because of this diversity, Providence seems to urge them to draw closer the traditional cord which is the basis of the very condition of their political existence. In any event, the sacrifices which they might impose upon themselves to maintain it, are beyond comparison with those which dissolution would bring after it. United they perfect themselves, isolated, they are paralyzed.

The struggle which unhappily has just arisen can neither be indefinitely prolonged, nor lead to the total destruction of one of the parties. Sooner or later it will be necessary to come to some settlement, whatever it may be which may cause the divergent interests now actually in conflict to co-exist. The American nation would then give a proof of high political wisdom in seeking in common such a settlement before a useless effusion of blood, a barren squandering of strength and of public riches, and acts of violence and reciprocal reprisals shall have come to deepen an abyss between the two parties of the confederation, to end, definitely, in their mutual exhaustion, and in the ruin, perhaps irreparable, of their commercial and political power.

Our august master cannot resign himself to admit such deplorable anticipations.

His Imperial Majesty still places his confidence in that practical good sense of the citizens of the Union who appreciate so judiciously their true interests. His Majesty is happy to believe that the members of the federal government and the influential men of the two parties will seize all occasions, and will unite all their efforts to calm the effervescence of the passions. There are no interests so divergent that it may not be possible to reconcile them by laboring to that end with zeal and perseverance, in a spirit of justice and moderation.

If, within the limits of your friendly relations, your language and your counsels may contribute to this result, you will respond, sir, to the intentions of his Majesty the Emperor, in devoting to this the personal influence which you may have been able to acquire during your long residence

at Washington, and the consideration which belongs to your character, as the representative of a sovereign animated by the most friendly sentiments towards the American Union. This Union is not simply, in our eyes, an element essential to the universal political equilibrium; it constitutes besides, a nation to which our august master and all Russia have pledged the most friendly interest; for the two countries, placed at the extremities of the two worlds, both in the ascending period of their development, appear called to a natural community of interests and of sympathies, of which they have already given mutual proofs to each other. I do not wish here to approach any of the questions which divide the United States. We are not called upon to express ourselves in this contest. The preceding considerations have no other object than to attest the lively solicitude of the Emperor in the presence of the dangers which menace the American Union, and the sincere wishes which his Majesty entertains for the maintenance of that great work so laboriously raised, and which appeared so rich in its future.

It is in this sense, sir, that I desire you to express yourself, as well to the members of the general government, as to the influential persons whom you may meet, giving them the assurance that in every event the American nation may count upon the most cordial sympathy on the part of our august master, during the important crisis which it is passing through at present.

Receive, sir, the expressions of my very deep consideration.

(signed,) "GORTSCHAKOFF."

SECRETARY SEWARD'S REPLY.

The Secretary of State has delivered to Mr. Stoeckl the following acknowledgment:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, September 7.

The Secretary of State of the United States is authorized by the President to express to Mr. De Stoeckl, Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, his profound sense of the liberal, friendly and magnanimous sentiments of his Majesty on the subject of the internal differences which for a time have seemed to threaten the American Union, as they are communicated in the instruction from Prince Gortschakoff to Mr. De Stoeckl, and by him read, by his Majesty's direction, to the President of the United States and the Secretary of State. Mr. De Stoeckl will express to his government the satisfaction with which the government regards this new guaranty of a friendship between the two countries, which had its beginning with the national existence of the United States. The Secretary of State offers to Mr. De Stoeckl renewed assurances of his high consideration.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Mr. Edward De Stoeckl, etc.

Effects of Fremont's Proclamation.—The next two following paragraphs, concerning the reception of Fremont's proclamation by the President and Cabinet, and its probable effect on Garibaldi, the Italian Patriot, will strike our readers with some surprise, as coming from the Washington Correspondent of the *N. Y. Herald*. We cannot vouch for the correctness of the statements, though we see nothing improbable in them. Nothing can be more natural than that the boldest steps toward emancipation should enkindle most generous enthusiasm, and command most respect. Hitherto, the facts warrant the conclusion that it will continue to be so.

Reception of Fremont's Proclamation by the President and Cabinet.—Gen. Fremont's proclamation, declaring slaves of rebels to be free men, was made solely on his own responsibility, without any previous advice from the authorities here or consultation with them on the subject. It struck the entire Cabinet and the President with utter amazement, and for the first twenty-four hours they remained in a quandary, like the crew of a wrecked boat, dashed by the surf high and dry upon the rocks, and lying round thinking what to do. Whether it was right or wrong, prudent or imprudent, what would be its effects, especially in the bastard neutral States, and parts of States, whether to sanction it or countermand it. All these questions were freely and fully canvassed, when it was finally unanimously determined that the proclamation was just the right thing, made at precisely the right time, in exactly the right manner, and by the right man. Thus Fremont, possessing in himself, like Andrew Jackson, the rare combination of the soldier and the statesman, triumphs.

Probable effect of Fremont's proclamation on Garibaldi.—I can give you some very interesting particulars in regard to the proposition of Garibaldi to join our army, and of the probability of his soon entering into the service of the United States. Nearly two months ago our Consul at Genoa wrote to Garibaldi on the subject of our civil war. Garibaldi promptly replied, saying that he "sighed for retirement, but if the great cause of republican government—free institutions—which is the same throughout the world was at stake," he might be induced to relinquish his long cherished hope of withdrawal from public life; and he begged the Consul to express to our government his deep sympathy in this hour of trial. He concluded his letter

with the significant inquiry whether this conflict would result in the emancipation of the slaves? This correspondence was forwarded by our Consul to Secretary Seward, who communicated the same to the President. Mr. Lincoln immediately directed the Secretary of State to tender to Garibaldi in the name of the President, the appointment of Major-General in the American Army, if he would take a part in this great contest. Mr. Seward's reply to Garibaldi, addressed to our Consul at Genoa, is one of the most elaborate, studied and ornate pieces of rhetoric that has ever emanated from his pen, and will be admired when it comes to be published, by the lovers of rhetoric throughout the world. It was general in its terms, arguing the point so often presented to American readers, that if republican government failed here, there was no hope for it anywhere else; but as the government at that time had no policy in regard to the confiscation and freeing of the slaves of rebels, and the Secretary of State did not know whether the government would adopt a policy on that subject, he dodged Garibaldi's main and important question, and made no allusion to it whatever. But now that Gen. Fremont has made a policy for the government on this vexed question—in full harmony with Garibaldi's views—the friends of the Italian liberator are sanguine that he will soon be here to accept the proffered commission in our army.

[We suspect that Garibaldi will wait till he sees the proclamation of liberty extended to all the slave States, and to all the slaves, before he will see in our civil war a contest for liberty.]

TUESDAY, Sept. 10.

Sensation rumors from Washington are again rife. Some to the import that the rebels are assuming an attitude of advance upon Washington: others that they are about retreating, and that ten regiments of their forces in Virginia, are already ordered to North Carolina. Reconnoissances and encounters of picket guards, are the only events that are now known to have transpired. Gen. McClellan is said to have taken a balloon ascent, on Saturday, to observe the positions of the rebel forces.

Private Scott pardoned.—Wm. Scott, of Company K., of Third Regiment Vermont Volunteers, who had been sentenced to be shot for sleeping on his post, while a sentinel, has been pardoned by Gen. McClellan.

Confiscations.—Four vessels were yesterday seized at Providence, R. I., under the confiscation act.

Seceding from the Secession Army.—Baltimore September 10.—A letter to the *Baltimore American* from a citizen of Leesburg, says that "a whole Mississippi regiment stationed here revolted on Saturday, broke their muskets to pieces, and started home." This is from a responsible and reliable man, who has furnished the *American* regularly with correct information from that vicinity, and he adds to the note, "This is reliable."

The report that the Governor of North Carolina has recalled ten thousand of the troops of that State from Beauregard's command, is confirmed.—*Evening Post*.

The rebels are said to be building a railroad from Strasburg to Harper's Ferry.

N. Y. State Union Convention.—Syracuse, New York September 10.—The People's Union Convention assembled at Wieting Hall at eleven o'clock this forenoon.

The hall was filled with a highly respectable and intelligent body of men, presenting an appearance more than usually animating, even in a political convention.

From the first moment of meeting it became evident that the Convention was moved by an overwhelming spirit of earnest enthusiasm in the cause for which it assembled.

Mr. Hiram A. Beebe, of Tioga, called the Convention to order, and nominated Hon. Thomas G. Alvord, of Onondaga, as temporary chairman.

Rhode Island.—At the late session of the General Assembly, a resolution was passed pledging the State to a vigorous prosecution of the war in which the nation is now involved, and directing a copy thereof to be transmitted to the President of the United States.

WEDNESDAY, 11th.

Rebel force in Virginia.—A Richmond paper, apparently on good authority, sums up the Confederate force before Washington to 112,000 men. The Southern papers complain of the inefficiency of the coast protection of the South, and say the Government is spending all its efforts on Virginia.—*The World*.

Missouri.—War movements in Missouri are confined to skirmishing among the several divisions. Prisoners are daily arriving in St. Louis, captured by the federal troops in these encounters. McCulloch's force is reported to be moving toward Kansas. It is supposed he will hover along the line with a view to co-operating with the Missouri forces, if necessary. Gen. Price has united his forces with those of Gen. Rains, making a total of about 7,000 men. They were expected to engage the enemy on Tuesday, the

2d inst., but advices from Springfield to last Friday state that no engagement had taken place.

From St. Louis we have intelligence of a reported engagement at Shelbyville, Mo., between 900 Union troops under Colonel Moore, and nearly 3,000 rebels under Martin Green. A Western paper says that only one man was hurt, notwithstanding that Green fired his artillery on our troops for two hours and a half.—*Id.*

Two Women were burned to death on board a steamboat at Stamford, Ct., on Saturday. The explosion of a fluid lamp set fire to the clothing of the stewardess, and the cook, in her efforts to subdue the flames, was fatally burned.

The Staats Zeitung suppressed at the Post Office.—The yesterday morning issue of the *Staats Zeitung* (German) was stopped at the Post Office, by order of Postmaster Taylor, and was only allowed to pass through the mails on the most earnest protestations of loyalty to the Union by Mr. Otendorfer, the editor. Mr. Taylor has telegraphed to Washington for further instructions.—*The Sun*.

Position at Washington. The Correspondent of the *N. Y. Herald* says the rebel army has advanced from Manassas to "Fairfax Court House, and made that place its headquarters, the left wing extending up the river as far as Great Falls, and the right resting in front of Alexandria. The main body is upon the left, indicating an intention to carry out the programme previously mentioned, to attempt to cross the river at some point above the city."

"The information derived from the sources alluded to is, that the rebel generals have no intention of attacking our centre. They hope to cross the Potomac, overrun Maryland and obtain possession of Washington."

The Privateer Sumpter is said to have arrived at Surinam.

General Butler's new expedition. General Butler arrived this morning, and has been very busy all day engaged in interview with the Secretary of War, General Scott and Secretary Chase. He will make an early departure to enter upon a new expedition.

Gerrit Smith to President Lincoln.—The Daily Tribune of 9th inst., contains an able Letter of Gerrit Smith to President Lincoln, in favor of a national abolition of slavery.

An Abolition Lecturer among "the Contrabands." A Correspondent of the National Anti-Slavery Standard relates the following.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 2, 1861.

I heard a good and true story the other day of a Massachusetts volunteer. He is an "old-line" Republican of the right stamp, and has been so for ten years. Well, this Massachusetts Abolitionist, if I may call him such, has for years been aching to get an opportunity to have a good "talk" with a parcel of Southern slaves, upon their own soil. This has long been his most earnest desire, though it has not seemed probable that his desire would ever be gratified. He could argue with white men in Massachusetts, but could rarely get at the slaveholder, and never at the slave. Enlisting in one of the Bay State regiments, he was ordered to Fortress Monroe. Here he found several hundred fugitive slaves, Butler's genuine "contrabands," and began to see a way in which the desire of his heart might be gratified. At last he was put in charge of two hundred of the "contraband at some earthwork, in which position he continued for several weeks, the colored people becoming greatly attached to him meanwhile. As he belonged to a three months regiment, the time at last came for him to return home, and one Saturday night he drew up his band of colored workmen, every one of whom was a slave three months before, and delivered to them "a farewell address." His time had come.—The great wish of his heart was about to be gratified, for he was commencing a speech to an audience of slaves, and that, too, upon the sacred soil of Virginia, and within two hours ride of Richmond! The speech will not probably live in history, as Washington's farewell to his soldiers had done, but it was a more wonderful event even for history than Washington's farewell. It was the first anti-slavery address delivered in a slave State by a white man to slaves. One thing he advised the poor fellows to do—never to become slaves again, no matter what turn the tide of affairs might take. There was no need of saying that. Every "boy" of the entire "lot" was eager to declare that wherever the Northern army at the Fortress went he would go, unless slavery was abolished in Virginia. When he came to bid them farewell, one after another cried out, "Don't forget Tom," "Don't forget Sam," "Don't forget Pete," and so on, through the entire list of "black" republicans. The Massachusetts anti-slavery man went home satisfied, and his children's children will be proud to say that their grandfather was the first white man to deliver an anti-slavery address to a slave audience upon slave soil!

THURSDAY, 12th.

From Washington.—The dullness in military affairs about Washington was broken yesterday by a report of heavy firing heard distinctly in the city. Great excitement was created, and various rumors were current as to the cause of the report. It proved that a reconnoitering party had gone out in the direction of Falls Church, and falling suddenly upon a large force of rebels, became engaged in

a brisk skirmish, in which three of our troops were killed and seven wounded.

The rebels do not appear to be making any preparation for an immediate attack, and it is thought in military circles that the efficient condition of our lines will prevent Beauregard from taking the initiative.

The result of the reconnaissance shows that the rebels are in very large force in the vicinity of Lewisville and Falls Church.—*The World*.

Missouri.—General Pope marched on Sunday night against Martin Green, who fled at the approach of the U.S. forces, his 3,000 men scattering in all directions, and leaving everything behind them.

Two women were arrested in St. Louis on Wednesday, for selling poisoned pies to the United States soldiers.

Rascality Hatching in Maryland.—U.S. Generals ready for it.—Washington, Sept. 11.—The Maryland secessionists are evidently bent upon doing mischief. The state legislature is to assemble on Tuesday next, and it is understood that the majority of the members intend to take measures to invite the invasion of the state by the rebel army, and then to pass an ordinance of secession.

Generals Dix and Banks are fully apprised of these movements, and will employ their forces to prevent the consummation of treasonable acts.

General Howard who has been nominated by the Maryland rebels for Governor of the state, is the official reporter to the Supreme Court of the United States. He is a rank secessionist.

More Soldiers wanted. Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, who is chairman of the Senate Committee on Military affairs, at the great Union Meeting, in Faneuil Hall, Boston, stated that—

"The government needs 150,000 more men in the field—50,000 for General McClellan, and 100,000 for General Fremont."—*The World*.

Senator Wilson should have been told that when the administration proclaims it a war for liberty against slavery, seven times the number of men he asks for, will be forthcoming.

"Fremont's proclamation among the soldiers. I cannot neglect this opportunity to assure you of the general satisfaction and delight which was manifested by the soldiers in perusing the proclamation of Fremont. It seemed to them to betoken a more earnest appreciation of the crisis and its dangers than any official document which had previously been issued. The only incident connected with it which is strange, is that Gen. McClellan does not make the same issue in Virginia. It would, more than any other course can, break up the nest of secession traitors who now reside within the very lines of our army, and who neglect no opportunity to insult our patriot soldiers and pour contempt and ridicule on the holy cause for which we are fighting. There must be an end to these things. Let the government meet it in Virginia and Maryland as the heroic Fremont has done in Missouri, and they will be strengthened and supported by all loyal men in the States."

The above is from the Washington correspondent of *The World*, whose editors, we hope, will receive it as an answer to their late prediction that, on a proclamation of emancipation, a majority of the soldiers would throw down their arms!

Pro-slavery and secession rebuked. The late attempt of Caggar & Co., to revive the pro-slavery Democracy in the State of New York, is likely to prove an utter failure. The two Conventions just now in session have probably given it a quietus.

The People's or Union Convention, without distinction of party, first made their Nomination, which was afterward, adopted, with a change of a single name, by the Republican Convention, sitting in the same place.—The following is the ticket put in nomination by the Union or People's Convention:

The following was the ticket agreed upon: For Attorney General, D. S. Dickinson, of Broome; Secretary of State, Horatio Ballard, of Cortland; Controller, Lucius Robinson, of Chemung; Treasurer, Wm. B. Lewis, of Kings; Canal Commissioner, long term, F. A. Alberger, of Erie; short term, Frederick A. Tallmadge, of New York; State Prison Inspector, Abraham B. Tappan, of Westchester; State Engineer and Surveyor, Wm. B. Taylor, of Oneida; Judge of the Court of Appeals, Wm. B. Wright, of Ulster.

The only change made in the above by the Republican Convention, is the substitution of the name of B. F. Bruce, for F. A. Tallmadge, for Canal Commissioner.

From Kentucky we learn that the Senate has adopted a resolution, by a large majority, requiring the withdrawal of the rebel troops from the State. An attempt to pass a like resolution in the House, relative to the federal forces, was unsuccessful.—*The World*.

From Gen. Bank's column it is reported that on Sunday last Capt. Tompkins, of the Rhode Island battery, opened

fire on a camp of rebels lately assembled at Conrad's Ferry, dispersing them entirely.

Notice is given to all Postmasters who have not received new stamps, to continue the sale of the old issue until the former can be supplied, and of course to mail all letters brought to their office prepaid by stamps of the old style.—*Tribune*.

Defeat of the Rebel Floyd's Command by General Rosencrans.—The government received a dispatch from Gen. Rosencrans, that he had routed Gen. Floyd's command, and that the latter was driven to his earthworks. General Rosencrans will give battle to Floyd again to-morrow.—*Herald Cor.*

FRIDAY, 13th.

From Western Virginia we have intelligence of an important victory gained by the federal arms. General Rosencrans, on Tuesday, came upon Floyd's army, 5,000 strong, intrenched near Summerville, and, after some preliminary skirmishing, engaged his whole force. After a hard fight of three hours, during which some of Floyd's guns were silenced, and his positions taken, our forces fell back and rested on their arms for the night, with a view to engaging the enemy again in the morning. It was found, however, that Floyd had fled during the night, leaving his baggage, horses, wagons, &c., and taking with him his dead and wounded. Our loss was fifteen killed and seventy wounded. The federal troops engaged were principally from Ohio, and conducted themselves, it is reported with signal bravery.

A dispatch from Gen. Fremont states that Gen. Pope is in full pursuit of Greene's forces. A connection has been made between the Pacific and Iron Mountain Railroads, under the order of Gen. Fremont, which will afford important facility for military operations. The rebels in Missouri continue to burn the bridges of railroads, with a view to producing slaughter and disaster among the loyal citizens.

Dispatches from Kentucky State that the Senate had confirmed the vote of the House expelling the confederate forces from the state by a vote of 26 to 8. The enlistment of men for the rebel army in Kentucky is made a crime punishable with death.

In view of the increasing importance of *Fortress Monroe* as a base of operations, the War Department intends to largely increase the number of forces at that station.

The rebel troops have torn by nine miles of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad track, extending from Martinsburg to North Mountain.—*The World*.

A report of the wreck of the privateer *Sumter* at Trinidad, lacks confirmation.

RECEPTION OF DR. CHEEVER. On Thursday Evening, Dr. and Mrs. Cheever received their friends, at the house of Rev. S. R. Davis, No. 18, Twenty-Eighth Street. The spacious rooms were well filled. D. Fairbank presided, and after introductory remarks, called on Rev. Dr. Tyng to lead in prayer. Dr. Hartt then read an appropriate address of the Church of the Puritans to their Pastor, to which he responded, with much pathos and great eloquence. He was followed, in a felicitous manner, by Dr. Tyng, in which his sympathy with the Pastor and Church of the Puritans, under their persecutions, and with the holy cause for which they have thus suffered, were most feelingly and unequivocally expressed.—After Dr. Tyng, followed a number of other speakers, among whom were Rev. J. R. Sloane, Rev. D. M. Graham, Rev. Hiram Mattison, Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, Theodore Tilton, Oliver Johnson, Edgar Ketchum, and William Goodell. The meeting was one of great unity and interest, and was protracted to a late hour. We trust it will prove a precursor of renewed activity in the good cause.

Family Miscellany.

TWILIGHT THOUGHTS.

All the western sky is golden,
Glowing in the forest olden,
In this peaceful close of day;
Hushed the wild birds' merry singing,
Down the woodland pathways ringing—
Night is peace and quiet bringing
As the twilight fades away.

Soft the night wind wanders over
Billowy fields of purple clover—
Loads the air with rich perfume;
Such a fragrance sweet, as never
Floats o'er Ganges' sacred river,

Where the pale, pure roses ever
Clothe its verdant banks with bloom,

In the twilight—calm, elysian—
Comes another, sadder vision,
'Midst our fancies bright and gay;
How afar, 'Mid white tents gleaming,
'Neath the starlight's holy beaming,
Many a soldier brave is dreaming,
Of his home, so far away.

Where Potomac's waves are sweeping,
Watch and ward o'er Vernon keeping,
Hastening onward to the sea—
Where the southern breeze is sighing,
There are Freedom's champions lying,
And we dream, as day is dying,
Of the sad hours yet to be.

God of mercy! watch thou o'er them,
Smooth the thorny path before them—
Those we love—the brave and free;
All thy gifts on them bestowing,
May their hearts with joy be glowing,
'Neath our starry banner going,
True to country, home, and Thee?

—[*Wolverine Citizen*.]

For the Principia.

A STORY OF FORTRESS MONROE.

Johnny Johnson, a "Contraband" of medium size, quite black, stammers very much, and age, say twenty, called on me, to-day, for help to get to Canada. He would not be persuaded that it was yet safe for him in the States, he was afraid the people or the Government might yet return the "contraband," and can we wonder at his fears? Was not Christ given up to Herod by Pilate, as a peace offering? and has Pilate no representatives among us?

Johnny (his late master usually called him Johnny, and was not a brute except when his temper was roused, when he would flog two hundred and fifty lashes to appease it), says he was born in Richmond, but lived for many years past in Yorktown, with a Mr. Taylor. Taylor was an officer in the Southern army, that is, he rode a horse and had men under him, and was killed at Big Bethel, at least the papers said so.

Johnny escaped before the battle at Big Bethel, and first reached Point Comfort. He was afterward taken to Fortress Monroe where he waited on Lieut. Col. Wetmore, and took care of his horse. He says he was kindly treated by the officers and soldiers, and that nobody hindered his coming North. He says that in Virginia, John Brown is spoken of, by the slaves, as a good man, who gave his life to help them.

I asked Johnny if he left any relations in slavery? His black face was instantly overspread with marks of distress, and he choked so that I could hardly get at what he said, but finally learned that more than three holidays ago (and sad had been all his holidays since) he and his sister Mary, with others, were at work in the corn-field, when Taylor got angry at Mary because her work did not please him, and killed her by a blow on the side of her head, with a hoe. I asked how old Mary was? he could not tell, but holding his hand about four feet from the ground said "so high"—making her, perhaps, fifteen. This murder took place, we must suppose, only in the presence of slaves, and Taylor escaped all punishment, until the rifles of our men at Big Bethel sent him to his final account. W. E. W.

LITTLE ANNIE.

It was drawing toward the close of a sultry day in August, as I sat alone in my little school-room. For six hours I had been seeking to check the active, restless spirits of my scholars, and to persuade them quietly and diligently to study their appointed lessons, but every child seemed to me an example of perpetual motion. At four o'clock, weary, discouraged, and I regret to add, fretful and impatient, I had dismissed them, and all but one had returned home. I was trying to divert my thoughts from school by writing to an absent friend, when gentle footsteps echoed upon the bare floor, and the miller's only daughter, little four years old Annie, stood beside me.

"I've brought oo a tittle pink fower, teacher," she said softly: "is oo most ready to do home?"

I was just describing a pic-nic that I had recently attended, and vexed at the interruption, I caught the flower impatiently in my hand, but the stinging sensation that followed, showed me that she had innocently brought me a thistle-blow. Still more irritated by the pain, I said angrily, "What did you bring that thistle in here, to trouble me for? You need not wait for me any longer; I guess I can find my way home alone," and I resumed my writing. In a moment I looked up, and she had gone.—Half an hour had expired, and my letter was completed. Laying aside my writing materials, I returned to my boarding place. I noticed that it was very still at the grist-mill as I passed, and a little farther on I missed the pleasant face of Annie's mother at the window where she usually sat sewing. When I reached home, I entered my room, and threw myself discontentedly into the rocking chair. I tried to persuade myself that the cause of my unhappiness was the heated and depressing atmosphere, or those patience-trying children; anything, in fact, but my own guilty self.

Soon there was a low knock at the door, and Mrs. Gordon entered. "Have you heard the news?" she asked. Then in a few brief words she told me how Annie had informed the rest, when school was dismissed, that she should wait for me; but at length getting tired, as they supposed—"You know," said Mrs. Gordon, softly, "that children have not as much patience as those who are older"—she had started for home alone. What happened they could not tell, for Annie's father was alone in the back part of the mill, but suddenly he heard a scream, and sprang to the spot. A board carelessly left loose, was slipped to one side, and through the opening he saw Annie struggling in the dark waters. Almost frantic, he seized an iron hook, but the great wheel moved round, and in a few moments steadier hands than his drew the little crushed and mangled form out of the foaming waters. Tenderly and carefully they bore her home, but just as they entered the gate, a beautiful smile came over her parted lips, and she ceased to breathe.

I listened with almost breathless eagerness till the sad story was finished, and then a deep shudder crept over me, and leaning my head on my hands, I sobbed aloud. If I could only have taken back those angry words! but it was too late. There were tears in the eyes of my little girls, as they came to meet me the next morning, and they said in soft, subdued voices, as their small hands clasped in mine, "Annie is dead." They little knew what a fearful retribution for my sin those three words brought upon me, for only God and my own heart bore witness against me.

At noon I yielded to their pleading that I would take them with me to see their little playmate. She was lying in her crib, with the sunny curls parted back from her fair, open brow. Her lips were wreathed with a smile so gentle and peaceful, that it seemed as if angels had kissed her, and left the reflection of their happiness there. How often I had seen her in her childish slumbers with the same look of innocence resting on her face. There was only the little white shroud, and the unyielding clasp of the tiny hands, to prove that the gentle voice which asked me if I were ready to go home, was hushed forever.

Something of the anguish that I felt must have shown itself upon my face, for the bereaved father grasped my hand warmly as he said, "I knew you would sympathize with us in the loss of our darling, for she loved you dearly. You have been very kind to her this summer; God bless you for it!" and tears that did honor to a father's love moistened his cheek.—Oh! if he had only known it all, and reproached me, I could have borne it, but this kindness was too much, and bitterly repenting my hasty words, I turned away.

I can not tell you of the funeral, when clad in white we followed her to her long home, for my eyes were blinded with tears. But I would that I might lead you to the little green grave, with only "Little Annie" on the small white stone, and there in sight of the little brown school-room and the old grist-mill, tell the sad story of the little one who sleeps there, and the lesson it has taught me, which I never can forget.

"O'er wayward childhood wouldst thou bear firm rule,
And sun thee in the light of happy faces,
Love, Hope, and Patience, these must be thy graces,
And in thine own heart let them first keep school."

Congregationalist.

MAKING OTHERS HAPPY.

Have you made one happy heart to-day? How calmly you seek your pillow? How sweetly sleep! In all this world there is nothing so sweet as giving comfort to the distressed,—as getting a sun-ray into the gloomy heart. Children of sorrow meet us wherever we turn; there is not a moment that tears are not shed and sighs uttered; yet how many of these sighs are caused by our thoughtlessness! How many a daughter wrings the very soul of a fond mother by acts of unkindness and ingratitude! How many husbands, by one little word, make a whole day of sad hours and unkind thoughts! How many wives, by recrimination, estrange and embitter loving hearts! How many brothers and sisters meet but to vex each other, making wounds that no human power can heal! Ah! if each one worked upon this maxim day by day—"Strive to make some heart happy!"—jealousy, revenge, madness, hate, with their kindred evil associates, would forever leave the earth.

A BEAUTIFUL REFLECTION.

Bulwer eloquently says:

"I cannot believe, that earth is man's abiding place. It can't be that our life, cast up by the ocean of eternity, is to float a moment upon its waves and sink into nothingness. Else why is it that the glorious aspirations, which peep like angels from the temple of our heart, are forever wandering about unsatisfied? Why is it that the rainbow and clouds come over us with a beauty that is not of earth, and then pass off and leave us to muse upon their faded loveliness? Why is it that the stars who hold their festival around the midnight throne, are forever mocking us with their unapproachable glory? And finally, why is it that bright forms of human beauty are presented to our view, and then taken from us, leaving the thousand streams of our affections to flow back in Alpine torrents upon our hearts? We are born for a higher destiny than that of earth; there is a realm where the rainbow never fades; where the stars will be spread before us like islands that slumber on the ocean; and where the beings that pass before us like shadows, leave our presence for ever.

CAUTION TO MOTHERS.

It is a very common thing to see mothers and servant girls pushing along over the sidewalks the little carriages in which they are giving infants an airing on pleasant days. The practice is a very dangerous one, and is very liable to a great permanent injury to the child. We observe also that carriages are now so constructed that they may be pushed instead of drawn. The position of a child riding backwards, is an unnatural one, and directly affects the brain of the tender creature. Some grown persons, even, cannot ride backwards in a railroad car without experiencing a sense of faintness, and to expect a child to do what a strong adult cannot, is unreasonable, to say the least. It is believed by medical writers that infants have died from diseases produced by being ridden backwards. It is a law of nature always to draw them forwards. We hope mothers will remember this, and impress it upon the minds of their servants. Check the first attempt to ride the little innocent backwards, and you will remove one of the causes of congestion and brain fevers to which children are so liable.

OLD FOGIES.

In his recent work on Representative Government, Mr. J. S. Mills observes that "the Conservatives are, by the law of their existence, the stupidest party. In Legislation such men are nonentities except on division lists; they contribute no arguments, expound no principles, exercise no judgment, and are less fit for the real duties of senatorship than the skilled workmen whom they employ. Socially, they are portions of that inert matter which obstructs progress, even more than active opposition. You can't reason with them, for they don't understand it; you can't enlighten them, for they have no windows to their souls. They block the way like an overturned wagon, keeping better vehicles in the rear, and if they have any use, it is to dam up the stream of improvement until they give rise to one of those periodical floods by which accumulated rubbish is swept away.

WAR AND RELIGION IN LOUISIANA.—The Rev. J. A. Ivey, P. E., of Monroe District, Louisiana Conference, writes, May 13th:—"The war excitement rather helps than hinders religion. Soldiers ask for sermons before they go, and prayers after they go, and prayers after they are gone. Some join the church and enlist for Christ, too.—*Exchange Paper.*

Yet these soldiers are fighting in support of the pro-slavery rebellion. "The war excitement rather helps than hinders" their "religion." And their religious teachers instruct them in such a religion. Such a paragraph suggests reflections that might occupy a volume, on the delusions, mischiefs, and dangers, of false religion, under the name, and with the Shibboleths of Christianity.

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